Displaced Children and Orphans Fund
Assessment of the Situation of
Street Children in Indonesia

June 1999

by

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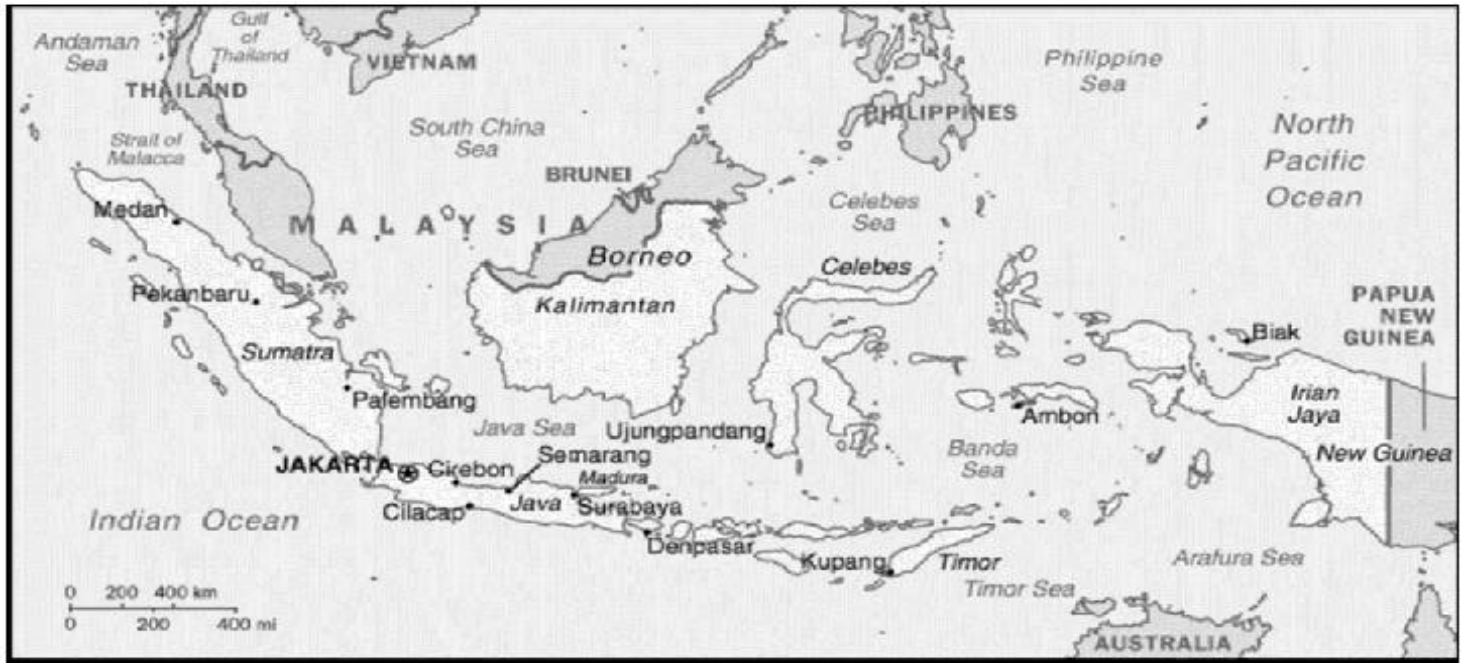
Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AusAID	Government of Australia, Overseas Development Organization
BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah; National Development Planning Agency
CIDA	Canadian International Development Assistance
CSW	Commercial Sex Worker
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics for Indonesia
DCOF	Displaced Children and Orphans Fund
DEPSOS	Ministry of Social Welfare, Directorate of Child, Family and Elderly (Development and Protection)
EMPOWER	PACT's new proposed project concept working with street children
GOI	Government of Indonesia
GO	Government Organization
HNDSP	Health and Nutrition Sector Development Program
IGA	Income Generation Assistance
ILO	International Labor Organization
IPEC	International Program to Eliminate Child Labor
IPPA	International Planned Parenthood Association
KKK	Indonesian acronym: Collusion, Corruption, and Nepotism
LPA	Lembaga Perlindungan Anak, Child Protection Body
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
PACT	Private Agencies Collaborating Together
PAKET A&B	Equivalency curriculum developed by the Indonesian Government
R4	Results Report and Resource Request: USAID measurement tool
RESCUE	Reaching Street Children in an Urban Environment
RTD	Round Table Discussion
Rupiah	Currency of Indonesia
SEAD	Small Economic Activity Development
SPSDP	Social Protection Sector Development Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USAID/DG	USAID Office of Democracy and Governance
USAID/PHN	USAID Office of Population, Health and Nutrition
USAID/WID	USAID Office of Women in Development
YKAI	Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia, The Indonesian Child Welfare Foundation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Gulf of Thailand
VIETNAM
THAILAND
Strait of Malacca
South China Sea
PHILIPPINES
Philippine Sea
North Pacific Ocean
BRUNEI
Celebes Sea
Medan
M A L A Y S I A
Borneo
Celebes
Pekanbaru
Kalimantan
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Biak
Sumatra
Palembang
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Ambon
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Executive Summary

The scale of the East Asian financial crisis has had a profound impact on the Indonesian economy and financial system, and has decreased the ability of families to have an adequate income. Nowhere in the region has the impact been so severe as in Indonesia. There are increasing reports of hunger and lack of access to health care as a result of the decline in family income.

Street children are a result and even an indicator of the crisis in Indonesia. The issue of street children has become one that must be dealt with everyday in Indonesia. As the numbers have increased in the major cities of Indonesia, everywhere one goes they are confronted with the "street child" reality. Unfortunately, the growing population of children on the streets can only be adequately addressed when family economic and well-being issues are also addressed.

Within this context, USAID's Displaced Children and Orphan Fund (DCOF) appointed a two-person team consisting of independent consultants, Pamella Klein Odhner and Tom Yates, to conduct an assessment of the current situation of street children in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia from May 2 to May 18, 1999. The primary objective of the assessment was to determine the viability of future DCOF actions regarding program development targeting street children in urban centers in Indonesia.

The assessment was based on extensive review of available research and analysis, including that from universities, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations (UN) organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGO), the Government of Indonesia (GOI), and newspaper articles. The qualitative assessment also involved in-depth interviews with key informants and beneficiaries, including government officials; major fund organization officers; program implementers; researchers; NGO project administrators and staff; teachers; and street children. The team's specific scope of work consisted of an assessment and clarification of the following issues:

- If the potential project fit within the Strategic Objectives Framework of the USAID Mission.
- PACT's proposed program capacity to address the current situation of more children on the street, and help children return or remain with their families when this is a reasonable option.
- Identification of the best impact to hope for and how it will be measured.
- The capabilities and capacity of local NGOs.
- Potential for an umbrella strategy to fund and strengthen local NGOs and approaches.
- Current impact and status of PACT's previously DCOF-supported work in Indonesia.
- Viability and practicality of a pilot project in the Bentar Geban garbage dumpsite.
- Adequacy of current methodologies used for program dissemination and duplication.
- If other PVOs are better suited to work with the target group that are complementary to PACT, and how to develop possible cooperative working links with them.
- Other targets and needs of displaced children besides street children's needs, especially in conflict areas such as East Timor, West Kalimantan, Ambon, and other urban areas besides Jakarta and Java urban centers.
- How additional players are trying to address the problems, and how additional resources may be brought to bear.

Key Findings and Conclusions

Situation of Street Children

- There are a great number of street children in Indonesia (an estimate of 56,000 countrywide, with 15,000 in Jakarta). An extensive mapping and surveying project assessing the specific situation of street children is nearing completion.

- There is evidence that the number of street children is growing as the effect of the economic, political, and social crisis in Indonesia worsens. Most new street children (about 60 percent of all street children) live with their families, work some of the time on the streets, and go to school some of the time.

- Street children who live on the streets, do not go to school, and have no connection to their families constitute a relatively small proportion (10 to 15 percent) of all street children. These street children are the most difficult to assist and are often underserved.

- Street children are not a homogeneous group and thereby require differentiated interventions.

- Sexual abuse and exploitation of street children is widespread. Most victims of sexual exploitation and abuse are girls, the proportion being as high as 93.5 percent. Most sexual encounters of street children are unprotected. Awareness of HIV/AIDS, STDs, and measures to prevent pregnancy is scarce.

- Access to health care is often unavailable for the poor in Indonesia, especially for street children. Lack of proper residency documentation, administrative complications, and corruption often block access.

- Other targets and needs of displaced children besides street children's needs, especially in conflict areas such as East Timor, West Kalimantan, and Ambon, were examined. The needs of these children do not, however, fall within the scope of DCOF activities (children orphaned, unaccompanied, or needing to be reunited with family). Therefore, the team did not pursue this aspect further.

Effects of Indonesia's Economic Crisis on Street Children

- The recent economic crisis in Indonesia was severe enough to drive a great number of families into or deeper into poverty. Poverty is one of the main reasons children spend time or live on the street.

- Families who have experienced sudden decreases in their income because of the crisis are at the greatest risk of sending their children onto the streets and forcing them to leave school as the need for increased family income grows.

- The relationship between poverty and street children is not a casual one. There are other mediating factors, including family structure, harmony of the family, children's network, and opportunities offered by street life.

Major Responses

- The phenomenon of street children is no longer a hidden issue as it was in the early 1990. It is being addressed by a number of organizations (governmental, nongovernmental, and international).

- Funding for projects targeting street children have greatly increased, with the current Asian Development Bank (ADB)/GOI loan of $27.3 million. ADB, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and UNICEF have been the primary donors for street children programs.

- Interventions targeting street children through the GOI's Social Safety Net Fund (SSN) primarily emphasize educational scholarships. However, food coupons, basic health care, vocational training; and SEAD assistance are also offered. Open houses, (similar to day centers) typically serve as the focal point for such interventions. It is unclear how many street children are truly benefiting from these programs.

- Beneficiaries from most local NGOs who run programs for street children usually do not have access to the SSN funds. Local NGO interventions appear to be more service-oriented, focusing on individual approaches.

Gaps in Service for Street Children

- Street girls are particularly underserved. Research and information on the extent of the issue of street girls is scarce and urgently needed. Street girls are usually given little attention because of the common perception that they are part of the sex industry. However, they are not addressed specifically in programs targeting commercial sex workers (CSW).

- There are "disconnects" between what is being offered to address the issue of street children and what is actually reaching the street children and their families. Such discrepancies continue to widen the credibility gap between the GOI and the general public.

- There is a need to have better coordination, collaboration, and networking among NGOs, the GOI, and other programs dealing with street children. Lack of cooperation is based on disagreement as to the best approaches to undertake with street children. The GOI's objectives (i.e., family reunification and reintegration) differ from those of many local NGOs (e.g., empowerment of street children to live on the streets).

- In general, most approaches being used are localized and focus on direct service, as opposed to being systemic and focused on policy. This temporary approach tends to address the immediate needs of street children, but fails to attack the problem at its root causes.

- Even as more and more demands are being placed on local NGOs, there are problems in relying too heavily on them for program management. This is based on a lack of capacity and poorer quality of interventions, questions of reliability, conflicting approaches, and NGO reluctance to work with the GOI due to perceived threats.

- In combination, the discrepancies outlined above exacerbate the potential for effective, sustainable solutions to the problem of street children. Any real economic recovery that would provide long-term employment to enable families to again achieve security of food and shelter, and have hope for the future is likely to take several years to achieve.

Private Agencies Collaborating Together

- Although Private Agencies Collaborating Together (PACT) has a rather long and successful record of designing and implementing programs targeting street children, there are questions as to its in-country capacity to reinstitute such a program given the changing situation of street children.

- The rapid number of turnovers among PACT country representatives in the last four years is a major concern. Related to this is a lack of knowledge as to the current situation of street children, as well as a limited awareness regarding most recent intervention efforts by other NGOs, major donors, and the GOI.

- The majority of PACT's qualified, experienced local staff from the earlier RESCUE Projects are no longer working for the organization, but rather have established their own NGO (PACTA). Although it is likely that PACT would contract with this local NGO to implement the new project, there are also questions as to PACTA's organizational capacity.

- The USAID Mission raised concerns regarding its previous relationship with PACT. Specifically, concern was expressed over PACT's poor management of funds (e.g., the large conversion of U.S. dollars into rupiah immediately prior to its devaluation).

Recommendations

1. Review Results of Street Children Interventions

Recommendation:

DCOF and the USAID Mission devise and collaborate on a mechanism to monitor progress of interventions implemented or planned to be implemented for street children. This will need to be done for at least one year.

Options:

- Mission designates an office or a person and allocates time for them to conduct this monitoring effort.

- Have as a result effort, within a USAID assistance instrument, the task of conducting this monitoring effort.

- USAID/DCOF contract the monitoring effort on a regular basis.

Rationale:

- Street children in Jakarta and other major cities are highly visible. USAID and others want to assist them but the most appropriate mechanism is not always evident. A continual review will highlight progress of programs initiated to aid street children.

- There are many interventions being implemented that focus on street children. Many of these are new and should be given the opportunity to produce their results.

- There are even larger program interventions planned that could have tremendous impact on street children. Many of these interventions will commence in the next few months.

- A comprehensive mapping and surveying of street children is nearing completion. Once complete, more appropriate targeting and program design could be done for existing and planned interventions.

2. Focus on Street Girls

Recommendation:

USAID/DCOF undertake an initiative that would focus on street girls.

Options:

- Place the focus for street girls' reproductive health intervention on an existing assistance instrument.
- Issue a Request for Application (RFA) for a project that is specifically geared toward the issues of street girls and their health issues.

- Ask PACT to modify its unsolicited proposal concept.

Rationale:

- There seems to be a logical "fit" for a program focusing on street girls' health issues in the Mission's *Crisis and Recovery Strategy for Indonesia (FY 1999-FY 2003)* Intermediate Result "Appropriate health behavior and services promoted."

- The April 1998 R4, the Intermediate Results that focus on risk reduction strategies in relationships by those at risk (CSW), could benefit in having a program targeting street girls. Street girls are at extreme risk and strategies especially geared to them are needed.

- Programs focusing on young girls living or working on the street are scarce. Agencies (government and private) do not have well-formed plans, strategies, or programs for this particular group. They all know they will have to have a different approach than ones dealing with "street boys," but exactly what should be done is unclear.

  The reasons for this are as follows:

  - Once girls go to the streets they become stigmatized, and finding a marriage partner in the future becomes difficult.

  - Street girls are particularly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation.

  - More street girls than boys are involved in prostitution.

- Street girls are either involved in prostitution or are vulnerable to becoming involved.

- The programs that bring awareness of health issues such as STD/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies are not geared to street girls. It is interesting to note that the rehabilitation directorate of the Ministry of Social Welfare, Directorate of Child, Family and Elderly Development and Protection (DESPOS) has rehabilitation centers for young male prostitutes and for adult female prostitutes, but nothing for young female prostitutes. This may be an area where USAID could offer assistance.

- By issuing an RFA, DCOF or the USAID Mission could have a program that is specially focused on street girls and their health issues, that would also help reach the Mission's established benchmarks within the Strategic Objective Framework.

- Although PACT has submitted an unsolicited proposal to reactivate their street children's project, the proposed concept does not appear to be fully cognizant of new initiatives or the Mission's Strategic Framework.

3. Have Street Children as a Focus in the Possible USAID Mission's NGO Development and Strengthening Project

Recommendation:

If USAID initiates an NGO development and strengthening project, include a street children focus.

Options:

- Include a street children focus in any new NGO project.

- The USAID Democracy and Governance (DG) Office would oversee this initiative but could be supported by the WID or PHN Office. The DG office at the moment is extremely busy. If such an initiative materializes, it would not begin until the next calendar year.

Rationale:

- An NGO development and strengthening project would assist the ongoing initiatives for street children. Many of these initiatives tend to offer temporary solutions, and do not approach the issues from a systemic and policy focus.

- There is a great need for coordination and networking of NGOs, government, and international agencies involved with street children. Such coordination, collaboration, and networking would assist in overcoming the transparency and credibility gap issues involved in the issue of street children.

Assessment of the Situation of Street Children in Indonesia

Profile and Demographics of Street Children

The magnitude of problems, numbers, and characteristics of street children in Indonesia remains unclear. Although various needs assessments and surveys have been completed,[1] they assessed the situation before the impact of the economic crisis was evident. Currently, a comprehensive national mapping survey of street children in the 12 major cities in Indonesia is being completed by Irwanto from Atma Jaya Catholic University, as commissioned by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Government of Indonesia (GOI). The results of this mapping will be available in a month or two. Unfortunately, such surveys often face difficulties in obtaining clear pictures of the problem, largely due to the size of the country and the transitory nature of and complex issues facing street children.

There is general agreement among government officials and NGOs that the number of street children in the largest cities in Indonesia is around 56,000, with approximately 15,000 street children estimated in Jakarta alone.[2] Estimates also indicate that the number of street children has risen from around 12,000 in 1996 to more than 56,000 in the 12 largest cities in 1998.[3] Some estimates suggest that 70 percent of all street children are 6 to 15 years old, 20 percent to 30 percent are 16 to 19 years old, and about 2 to 5 percent are under 6 years old.[4]

Definitions of Street Children

A major problem of determining how many street children there are in Indonesia is directly related to the difficulties of simply *defining* which children constitute street children. Although it is true that different sectors of the GOI and even NGOs may have conflicting characterizations of street children, a fairly well-accepted definition is as follows: any *child under 18 years of age doing activities (regularly or not regularly) in the street or other public places with or without family ties*.[5]

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[1] See specifically Irwanto's Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia, (1998); PACT's Profile, Program and Policy: Study on Street Children in Jakarta Area - Summary Report (1994); and PACT's Reaching Street Children in Urban Environments in Indonesia: Alternative Employment Program for Street Children - Needs Assessment Study on Six Street Children NGOs (1994).

[2] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia (1998).

[3] ADB, Report and Recommendations…for the Health and Nutrition Sector Development Program (1999).

[4] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia (1998).

[5] YKAI and PACT, Summary Profile, Program and Policy: Study on Street Children in Jakarta Area, (1994), p. 2.

Research suggests that street children are not a homogenous group. Instead, they can be

categorized into three groups:[6]

- *Children who are vulnerable to the streets:* those living at home, in school some of the time, but working to earn money for themselves and their families on the streets. These children live with their families or relatives and work on the streets only some of the time. This is the largest category (60 to 65 percent of all street children). They are often considered to be the "newcomers" to the streets, and the numbers in this category are supposedly growing as a result of the crisis.

- *Children on the streets:* those working on the streets most of the time to make money, often living independently. These kids live in homes together with other street children, but have fairly regular contact with their families or relatives. Some live on the streets with their parents. They work on the streets all or most of the time and usually do not go to school. An estimated 20 to 25 percent of street children are in this category.

- *Children of the streets:* or homeless street children who spend almost all of their time living and working on the streets, who are not in school, and have no contact with relatives or family. This group of street children is the most vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, and stigmatization. Homeless street kids make up 10 to 15 percent of all street children (between 5,600 and 8,400 children). These kids often come from broken or abusive families (one estimate was that 60 percent of the children in this category come from troubled homes) and do not reintegrate easily. These children are sometimes considered lazy by their peers because they are independent and free from responsibilities and therefore do not have to work as hard as the ones who must provide income to their families.

Gender Issues

Research and information on the extent of the issue of street girls is currently limited, though urgently needed. Some researchers estimate that roughly 10 percent of all street children are girls. However, street girls are usually considered "invisible" due to the common perception that they are part of the sex industry. One researcher put it this way, "the most pressing issue these days is how to deal with girls on the streets–many are in the twilight zone."[7]

Although a couple NGOs have begun to receive some street girls into their programs, such as Bahtera in Bandung and Lentera in Yogyakarta, they have limited experience and expertise to deal with them. For example, Bahtera asks the street girls that they work with to leave the center in the evening because they only have a few rooms for the street boys. Additionally, advocacy and interventions for street girls is very expensive (especially with regard to reproductive health issues) and street girls are a very difficult population to reach on whole.[8] For these reasons there have been few initiatives (particularly effective ones) by the GOI or local or foreign NGOs to

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[6] Ibid; DCOF Team meeting with UNDP (05/11/99).

[7] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia (1998), pp. 82-83.

[8] Ibid.

specifically address the issue of girl street children. During this DCOF assessment, most organizations, including the GOI, specifically requested assistance in this area.

Major Issues Facing Children on the Streets

Work

Child Labor as a Human Rights Violation

The International Labor Organization (ILO) states that, "[Although] the existence of child labor is intimately linked to poverty…[it] also serves to perpetuate poverty, since working children who have not been able to attend school…have very limited prospects of finding well-paid and rewarding jobs as adults."[9] Children, especially street children who work in the informal sector, often work in deplorable conditions that not only hinder their education, but also exploit them and jeopardize their physical and mental safety and well-being. In addition, they have few means to protect themselves against abusive situations, especially in the sex trade, which by definition is exploitative to children.

Officially, the GOI defines child workers as *those who are forced or compelled by circumstances to work.*[10] Estimates from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in 1997 placed the number of working children in Indonesia at 2 million (aged 10-14 years); the World Bank estimated the number to be between 2.3 to 2.9 million. Such estimates are projected to increase by 40 percent in today's crisis situation.[11] As the economic crisis worsens, there are indications that more and more families are sending their children into the workforce and removing them from school.

Child Labor and the Informal Sector

The informal sector attracts children to the street seeking to help their families earn a living. Children are usually paid below the local average minimum wage in the industrial sector, even for the same number of working hours as adults. Those in the informal sector, however, usually can generate a higher income. The informal sector by nature tends to be much more hazardous and exploitative for working children. The primary categories for the informal sector are child scavengers, street children, and market coolies.[12]

Informal sector labor usually requires children to work early morning hours (often beginning at 4:00 a.m.) or nighttime hours (often after 9:00 p.m.). These unusual working hours increase the exposure of street children to exploitative situations, especially girls, who usually begin working

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[9] ILO, The Fundamental Human Rights Conventions of the ILO: Leaflet on Child Labour.
[10] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia (1998), pp. 50-53.
[11] ILO (IPEC), Children in Hazardous Work in the Informal Sector in Indonesia (1996), pp. 15-17; Implementing Special Protection Measures for Children and Mainstreaming Child Rights in Indonesia: An UNICEF - Government of Indonesia Program Supported by USAID, Semi-Annual Report (1999), p. 3.
[12] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia (1998), pp. 57-67, 79-80.

in the evenings and into the night.[13]

Children aged 15 to 19 worked the longest hours (37-51 hours per week), followed by those aged 10 to 14. The number of working hours for children in these age groups is longer than it is for adults in the 25 to 29 age group. The average number of hours worked by street children is about 7.9 to 10.2 hours per day. By comparison, the official GOI working hour limit for children is supposed to be 4 hours per day. The number of children who work 60 hours per week or more has increased, especially in urban areas and for girls.[14]

Long and difficult working hours cause fatigue, increasing the risk of poor work performance (especially for those in school) and occupational accidents. These hazards increase when combined with poor health and nutrition. Children are more vulnerable to work accidents because of their inexperience and lack of knowledge of risks; lack of training on safety; poor or underdeveloped motor coordination; and psychological development levels that often make them more impulsive than adults.

Gender Dimensions

Before the economic crisis, research indicated that the number of boys participating in the labor force had decreased from around 60 to 46 percent, while conversely the participation of girls increased from around 34 to 36 percent. Additionally, the number of boys who were self-employed increased, whereas the number of self-employed girls decreased. For working girls, the potential for physical or sexual abuse is greater if they work overtime or at night, or if they live or work under the tight control of an adult male. Girls are more likely to fall into this category than boys.[15]

Education

Although access to primary education is generally high in Indonesia, achieving high primary school retention rates has been a continuing problem. In 1995, 16 out of every 100 primary school students did not complete sixth grade.[16] Other estimates suggest that approximately 17.4 million children (or 33 percent) aged 7 to18 years were not in school.[17] Changes in the economic situation have also impacted the educational attainment of children. Preliminary data from the World Bank's RAND Report (1998) provide strong indications that employment rates have increased for young adults (aged 15-24 years), suggesting that young people are leaving school

[13] Ibid, pp. 57-67.

[14] Ibid, pp. 59-60.

[15] Ibid, pp. 57-58.

[16] ADB, Report and Recommendations…for the Social Protection Sector Development Program (1998).

[17] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia, (MOEC, 1997) p. 16.

earlier due to the crisis.[18]

The effect of the crisis is also seen in the changes in enrollment and dropout rates. In 1997, enrollment rates averaged 93 percent for younger children (7-14 years) and 35 percent for young adults (15-24 years). By 1998, however, enrollment fell for both genders by 6 percent for the younger group and by a full one-third for young adults. Likewise, dropout rates increased across the board, but more significantly for older children in 1998.[19] Once children drop out of school and miss one or two years, re-enrollment becomes difficult, even if the economics of the family improve.

It was also evident in the RAND Report that large gaps existed in relation to per capita consumption and school attendance. The changes are the most extreme for the poorest Indonesians. For all other age groups the enrollment rates were higher and the dropout rates lower than for the lowest quartile of Indonesians. The lowest income families had a 30 percent attendance rate, while the highest income earners had a 90 percent rate.[20]

Families are required to pay extra fees for their child's continuing enrollment (cost of uniforms, supplies, transportation, school construction, and unofficial subsidies to teachers' low salaries, etc.). These fees are minimal, but for poor families they are often prohibitive. There are also examination fees, as students progress from primary to junior high and then again to high school, that often cause students to dropout. Reduced capacity of families to pay fees, diminished transition rates from primary to junior secondary schools, and poor quality of education, due in part to lack of teaching materials, has exacerbated low enrollment and high dropout rates.[21]

Recently, the GOI recognized the connection between the economic crisis and reduced educational attainment levels. It made efforts to address such issues by providing educational scholarships, with funding from ADB and the World Bank, to families with children at risk of dropping out of school or already working on the streets. However, little is being done to examine the policy considerations related to reduced education enrollment and high dropout rates.

Health and Nutrition

Economic difficulties often lead to a reluctance to seek health care assistance among many families, especially poor families and, in particular, for female members. Delays in receiving treatment often turn simple illnesses into catastrophic events, plunging families into ever-

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[18] World Bank, Measuring Change in Indonesia: Preliminary Results from the Indonesian Family Life Surveys,The Rand Report (1998), pp. 9-12.

[19] Ibid, p. 10.

[20] ADB, Report and Recommendations…for the Social Protection Sector Development Program, (1998).

[21] Ibid.

increasing debt and difficulty. In urban areas, especially in densely populated slum areas where most street children live, public health outreach and access to health centers is limited and often ineffective. The number of children with access to public health services declined by 7.1 percent from 1997 to 1998.[22]

Problems Related to Health Care Access

The GOI attempted to address the issue of health care access by establishing a free entitlement program for the poor. However, such access requires possession of a health card, distribution of which is controlled by village leaders. Only those with valid residency permits and birth certificates are eligible. Street children, those born out of wedlock, and the poor usually cannot produce such documentation because of the nomadic nature of their lives, stigmatization, or the high administrative costs of procuring documentation. Only 36 percent of people participating in a 1998 UNICEF survey of four districts and provinces across Indonesia had birth certificates.[23]

Government of Indonesia administrative procedures are often too burdensome for most people to traverse. For example, one key informant interviewed during the assessment explained that each health card had to have official approval stamps from no less than 3 different ministries for validation. There is noted corruption related to the distribution of the cards. In many cases, only those who are well connected to local officials or who have money receive the cards.

In relation to access to health services for street children in particular, the health cards are technically only available to participants in the Ministry of Social Welfare (DEPSOS)-supported open houses. However, during DCOF team visits to the DEPSOS-supported Setia Kawan II Open House, it was unclear how many children actually had such health cards, although the children were reportedly receiving free regular medical check-ups at the community health clinic across the street.

The availability of health care cards will be expanded to include all privately funded drop-in centers or open houses (boarding homes), according to DEPSOS. The privately funded programs reported that they had to seek private donations for health care services on a case-by-case basis for their beneficiaries, which often caused delays in receiving treatment and was a struggle. For those street children who are not connected to an open house or other program, they often must resort to self-medication to treat illnesses rather than professional medical help because of the cost and lack of access.

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[22] ILO, Indonesia's Crisis and Recovery: The Myths and Reality, (1999), p. 5.

[23] Implementing Special Protection Measures for Children and Mainstreaming Child Rights in Indonesia: AnUNICEF/Government of Indonesia Program Supported by USAID, Semi-Annual Report (1999), p. 7.

Specific Impact on Street Children

All street children, but girls in particular, are at great risk of suffering increased health and nutrition problems. Sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and unwanted pregnancies often plague street children because of their precarious lifestyles and working conditions. For example, although research indicates that levels of maternal mortality and morbidity among pregnant adolescents are much higher than among women in their twenties, limited attention has been given to adolescent reproductive health care, in particular regarding dissemination of information and counseling.[24]

Girls are often at risk in terms of low levels of food consumption because of traditional patterns of food allocation in families, widespread beliefs on the suitability of particular protein food sources, and the notion that girl children do not need to eat as much as boys.[25]

Abuse and Violence

Recent studies completed by UNICEF and Gadjah Madah University indicate that child abuse, including physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological abuse, is widespread in Indonesia. Social and cultural factors, including traditional beliefs and practices, contribute to the abuse's specific manifestations. Often, awareness as to what constitutes child abuse is extremely low. In addition, various forms of abuse are not considered violations of children's rights.[26]

Abusive experiences within the family often force children to leave their families. In one study, 60 percent of the homeless street children interviewed said they had left home because of abusive situations.[27] The probability of domestic violence increases significantly when families are economically distressed. Family size also aggravates family stress and tension. Girls who experience abuse in the home often keep silent to avoid stigmatization, isolation, and rejection. Boys tend to act out, often by leaving home or victimizing younger peers.[28]

The very nature of a child's life on the streets typically involves danger, fear, violence, exploitation, and abuse. The various forms of violence or victimization that street children face range from theft and sexual abuse to beatings and imprisonment. Raids and intimidation by security forces (KAMTIB), *premen* (adults who control an area and resort to violence to maintain

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[24] ADB, Report and Recommendations…for the Health and Nutrition Sector Development Program, (1999).

[25] Ibid.

[26] Implementing Special Protection Measures for Children and Mainstreaming Child Rights in Indonesia: An UNICEF/Government of Indonesia Program Supported by USAID, Semi-Annual Report (1999), p. 6.

[27] PACT and USAID, Profile, Program and Policy: Study on Street Children in Jakarta Area (1994), p. 6.

[28] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia (1998).

their control), or older street children (caused by economic competition or territorial claims) are part of most street children's lives. Once on the streets, children have to develop skills that enable

them to get what they need or to bear harassment and punishment to survive.[29]

Children on the streets often force others, or are forced by others, to surrender their belongings or money. They are often involved in fighting to protect their belongings or territories. In interviews with street children, researchers found that bigger kids or adults often sexually abused children in exchange for providing protection. The smaller and less powerful the child, the greater the likelihood is the child will experience violence and abuse. To fend off dangers, many street children stay within a small geographic area to secure protection from stronger, older street children or adults. In some cases, the relationship with the older child or adult can turn exploitative.[30]

Sexual Exploitation

Although there is a lack of integrated national statistics available on child sexual abuse, sources such as the mass media and local NGOs say the extent of the problem can be inferred in the number of child rapes annually: 60 percent of all reported rapes in Indonesia are perpetrated against children (or 900 to 1,200 cases). Many experts warn that the problem will increase steadily, especially as the economic situation worsens and family tensions and financial survival becomes increasingly dire.[31]

Approximately 30 percent of all Indonesian sex workers in 1996 and 1997 were under 18 years old. This constitutes approximately 40,000 to 70,000 children by some estimates, and over 150,000 by others. Many believe that most of the child victims are 15 years or younger, (80 percent of all child victims). Additionally, it is evident that there is an inverse age relationship–the younger the victim, the older the victimizer. This is exacerbated by a common belief in Indonesia that having sexual relations with young virgins enhances male virility. There is also an increasing number of cases involving trafficking of children for sexual purposes in Indonesia and across borders.[32]

Risk Factors

Some of the key factors that contribute to the problem of child sexual exploitation relate specifically to supply and demand. These factors are relevant in any country where child sexual exploitation occurs, but when looking more closely at such factors as they pertain specifically to

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[29] PACT and USAID, Profile, Program and Policy: Study on Street Children in Jakarta Area (1994), pp. 10-11; Atma Jaya University and PACT, A Review of the Lifestyles of Street Children in Jakarta: Toward Program Development to Prevent STD and HIV/AIDS Infection, (1995), pp. 17-19.

[30] Ibid, pp. 17-19.

[31] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia, (1998), pp. 92-93.

[32] Ibid, pp. 96-97.

Indonesia's current economic crisis, their importance becomes even more significant.

In particular, supply factors that add to the risk of sexual exploitation may include depressed family economic conditions (poverty), rural to urban migration, gender inequality and discrimination, responsibility of children to support their families, family disintegration, growth in the number of homeless children, lack of educational opportunities, lack of appropriate protection laws, and lack of employment options. All these risks are particularly significant in today's Indonesia, especially among street children.[33]

Demand factors include established criminal networks, corruption, child labor practices, traditional beliefs or cultural practices, intergenerational patterns of girls entering prostitution, the demand from foreign sex industries, arranged marriages of child brides, fear of HIV/AIDS generating demand for younger prostitutes, a military presence, and migrant labor forces, to name a few.[34] Again, the immediate situation related to Indonesia's political and economic troubles places children, especially those from the lowest echelons of society, at increased risk.

Gender Dimensions

Not unexpectedly, most victims of sexual exploitation and abuse are girls. Although the number of boy victims is certainly on the increase, the proportion of girl victims remains as high as 93.5 percent.[35]

The practice of arranged marriages for young girls adds to their risk of ending up on the streets and involved in prostitution. Early marriage generally carries a high risk of failure, which often means that young girls who end up separated from their husbands lose social and economic legitimacy. Early marriage generally means that young wives have had a minimal education, lack job opportunities, and if separated, often turn to prostitution for economic survival. In 1996, over 50 percent of girls in Indonesia under the age of 18 had been married.[36]

The intergenerational pattern of girls entering prostitution is also well accounted in Indonesia. This occurs in a number of ways–both social and cultural–that serve as a means for preparing girls both directly and indirectly to enter prostitution prematurely. The relationship between the incidence of sexual abuse at home and a girl entering prostitution is high. One WHO study found that 61 percent of prostitutes had been abused sexually during their childhood. Girls who come from violent or neglectful homes, or who come from homes where the mother is absent, face a greater risk of incest. Such abuse precipitates these children moving into the streets and exposes

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[33] ECPAT, End Child Prostitution, Pornography and Trafficking, (no date), p. 3.

[34] Ibid, p. 3

[35] Irwanto, Situational Analysis of Children in Need of Special Protection in Indonesia, (1998), p. 104.

[36] Ibid, pp. 108.

them to further sexual exploitation once there.[37]

Sexual Exploitation on the Streets

Once on the streets, a child faces an increased risk of sexual abuse and exploitation because the child becomes vulnerable to manipulation. Involvement in deviant behaviors such as drug use (glue sniffing and cheap, psychotropic drugs) and alcohol consumption exacerbates their vulnerability to sexual abuse on the streets. Many street children also have sexual liaisons with commercial sex workers. Most of their sexual encounters are unprotected and awareness of HIV/AIDS, STDs, and pregnancy protection methods are scarce.[38]

Sexual abuse not only occurs with adults, but also between street children themselves, particularly when a younger, weaker child provides sexual favors in return for protection (or even food) from the senior child. In one study, interviewers found that 44 percent of street children reported that they had been manipulated by adults or bigger street children to perform oral and anal sex. In some interviews social workers explained that "almost all street children have been sexually abused (anally) by their seniors because it is like an initiation to become a street child" or to work in a particular area. And, "…among them they have a term called *bool-membool* [forced anal sex]. The older street child or adult often thinks, 'I am the bigger street kid and I have to take control over other children.' Forced anal sex is the manifestation of that power."[39]

Street Children and Poverty

Poverty is one of the main reasons children spend time on the street. Children and their families need money and the children of poverty often turn to the streets in order to obtain income. This income is vital to day-to-day existence as it is used for food, shelter, medical care, and to continue education. A drastic decrease in family income can produce great strain on the family structure. Parents under stress caused by economic hardship are more likely to abuse their children or spouses. This can lead to a disintegration of the family unit. The community as a whole can also be brought to a point of disintegration as has been observed from recent internal conflicts in Indonesia.

Poverty and the phenomenon of street children are closely related. However, this is not a very simple casual relation since there are other mediating factors, including family structure,

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[37] Ibid, pp. 104-105, 107-108.

[38] Atma Jaya University and PACT, A Review of the Lifestyles of Street Children in Jakarta: Toward Program Development to Prevent STD and HIV/AIDS Infection, (1995), pp. 17-19.

[39] Ibid, p. 16.

harmony of the family, the child's network, and opportunities offered by street life.[40]

The recent economic crisis in Indonesia was severe enough to drive a great number of families into or deeper into poverty. Since poverty has often been stated as being one of the major reasons for children to work and live on the street, it is important to try to get an idea of the magnitude the economic crisis is having within Indonesia.

Economic Indicators [41]	
GDP per capita, monthly:	1,088 USD in 1997 610 USD in 1998
Growth in GDP, yearly:	At constant 1993 market price + 4.65 percent in 1997 - 15.44 percent in 1998
Average Minimum wage per month:	155,229 rupiah ($USD 20) in 1998
Inflation:	11.05 percent in 1997 83 percent in 1998
Overseas Development Assistance:	US$36,737,000,000 in 1997
Interest Rates: [42]	80 percent
Exchange Rates (rupiah to USD):	1996, Average 2,342.3 1997, September 11,400 1998, September 7,350 1999, May 7,955

The Ministry of Manpower recently stated that more than 20 million Indonesians are unemployed. Unofficial estimates reach and exceed 30 million.

Economic Effects on Indonesian Families

The scale of the East Asian financial crisis has had a profound impact on the Indonesian economy, financial system, and ability of families to have an adequate income. Nowhere in the region has the impact been so severe as in Indonesia. As the World Bank noted late last year in reviewing these events:

> Within the space of one year Indonesia has seen its currency fall in value by 80 percent, inflation

[40] PACT and USAID, Profile, Program and Policy: Study on Street Children in Jakarta Area (1994), pp 33-34.

[41] UNICEF, 1988 Indonesia Country Report.

[42] Interbank 1 month interest rate, annualized.

> soar to over 50 percent, the economy swing from rapid growth to even more rapid contraction, unemployment climb rapidly, and the stock exchange lose much of its value. Foreign creditors have withdrawn, investors have retreated. Capital and entrepreneurs have fled....Unfortunately, the crisis hit when Indonesia was experiencing its worst drought in fifty years, and the international oil price was registering a sharp decline. Social unrest has erupted and shaken to its very core the political stability of the nation. Years of development and poverty reduction are at risk.

There are increasing reports of hunger and lack of access to health care as a result of the decline in family income. One report estimates that this year 130 million Indonesians will fall below the poverty line of 2,100 calories a day.[43] Before the economic crisis of 1998, only 27 million were identified as poor.[44] A report from Helen Keller International states that the key indicators of hunger and access to health care for women and children are all on the decline and the absolute number of malnourished children is 7 to 10 times higher on Java than on other islands.

The rapid onslaught of the financial crisis and realization that the crisis has not run its course has made it difficult to state with certainty the exact consequences of the crisis. Community leaders and local press state that the number of children who have dropped out of school and have turned to prostitution in order to survive has increased, and the number of families who face abject poverty have dramatically increased.[45] A real economic recovery that would provide long-term employment to enable families to again achieve security of food and shelter, and have hope for the future is likely to take several years to achieve.

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[43] The Weekend Australian. October 4,1998.

[44] Dr. Lea Jellinek & Bambang Rustanto, Survival Strategies of the Javanese during the Economic Crisis (Preliminary Draft), January 1999.

[45] Jakarta Post, November 7, 1998; The Observer, November 2, November 5, November 7, 1998.

Major Responses

Almost $40 billion went to Indonesia in overseas development assistance in 1997 and a similar amount went to Indonesia in 1998.[46] Loans and grants were floated from large international financial institutions such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the International Monetary Fund. The United States Government, Australia, the European Union and its members, Norway, Japan, Canada, and other bilateral donors have also assisted Indonesia in the past few years. These donors have contributed substantial amounts of aid to assist Indonesia and its people in these times of economic crisis, political upheaval, and poor harvests due to drought and now excessive rainfall. Additionally, many international NGOs, foundations, and private sector businesses have contributed greatly to the assistance effort.

Until fairly recently, the GOI had yet to officially recognize street children as a problem. In 1995, the GOI began to take measures to respond to the problem. With the economic crisis pushing more and more children onto the streets and the increased visibility of street children, the GOI has placed even more emphasis on addressing the issue.

Efforts to Mitigate the Effects of Poverty

The GOI, in collaboration with these donor organizations, has developed numerous programs and interventions to help the poor. Samples of these programs are subsidized rice for the poor, massive public works job creation schemes, direct food distribution, small- and micro-business development, and scholarship programs.

However, there continues to be discrepancies between what these programs propose as outputs and the results. The extent of these discrepancies is not fully known, but collusion, corruption, and nepotism (known in Indonesia by the acronym KKK) is perceived to be fairly widespread. Almost all of these program activities have monitoring components, but there are still reports almost daily in the press of funds missing or used inappropriately. To gain credibility, the government has endorsed the former finance minister, Marie Mohammed, to establish an NGO that oversees the distribution of Social Safety Net funds.

The reports of KKK continue to widen the credibility gap between what the government says is happening and what the general population thinks is happening. Considering the hundreds of millions of dollars of overseas development assistance and Indonesia's own budgetary funds, many Indonesians believe funds should be wider spread to alleviate poverty and prevent a larger number of children from going to the streets.

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[46] Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta, Indonesia (1997).

Local NGOs are used to address this problem. The World Bank, ADB, bilateral donors, and many government ministries use local NGOs to implement programs that aim to alleviate poverty. There are the following problems, however, with relying too heavily on local NGOs:

- Lack of capacity among local NGOs;
- Inconsistency in approach among NGOs;
- Difference in strategy between the GOI and NGOs (the approach to street children is one example, where the GOI prefers to adopt one approach, the open house, and focus efforts on the "street newcomers," while many NGOs focus on empowerment of street children);
- Not all NGOs are reliable (for example, some were established by officials or family members of officials of the former regime);
- Some NGOs are closely associated with one political party or another; and
- Many local NGOs feel threatened by the government and seek permission for every detail of operations.

Many street children and their families have not been helped by the existing programs to help alleviate poverty. It is hoped that planned future programs will touch more street children and their families, but this will have to be monitored closely. In order to obtain money, street children often turn to a variety of activities:

- Legal activities–Begging, playing music, hawking, scavenging, riding in vehicles so that drivers can meet the minimum number of passengers for certain lanes or streets during peak hours, shoe shining, bus washing, assisting stall owners and bus drivers, security, street cleaning, and manufacturing.
- Illegal activities–Raising money through prostitution in the commercial sex industry, picking pockets, thieving, extorting resources in exchange for protection, stealing vehicle parts, selling drugs, fencing stolen articles, and kidnaping.

There have been some efforts for street children to increase income through small business development.[47] Small business development assistance for street children is usually offered for groups of street children. The skills and initial assistance are often obtained from NGO and government open house programs. Examples of these follow:

- Griya Asih–M&M Café, meatball production, food stalls, and handicrafts;
- Dian Metra–Sewing and handicrafts; and
- Setia Kawan II Open House–Driving, vehicle repair, printing, and handicrafts.

The efforts of programs to reach parents of street children are, at best, in a beginning phase. ADB/Department of Social Affairs (DEPSOS) interventions for families of street children are

[47] Reaching Street Children in Urban Environments in Indonesia, Alternative Employment Program for Street Children, Jeffrey Anwar for PACT and YKAI, (December 1994).

planned for expansion in the future. During the DCOF team's meeting with ADB/DEPSOS officials, however, these program activities seemed vague.

Specific Responses of United Nations Development Program and Department of Social Affairs

The primary objective of the GOI and other donors has been to develop an appropriate model for working with street children. For the UNDP, the entry point into this issue has been poverty; it views the street children issue as an impact of poverty not focused on until the crisis. In the past, the GOI responded to the street children issue by removing children to orphanages or other institutions; the UNDP has tried to alter this approach through the following programs.

Open Houses for Street Children: One approach developed with UNDP in response to the issue has been the open house model for addressing the needs of street children in a more holistic way. Under this model, after an assessment and possible home visit by the social worker, street children can receive educational or vocational assistance, food coupons, health care, counseling, and a safe place to meet with each other. The open houses do not offer accommodations; they serve as day centers.

DEPSOS works with UNDP in 12 open houses administered by sub-contracted local NGOs. There are two such open houses in Jakarta. Each open house has approximately 700 children registered, but only 70 are regularly active. Children have access to ID cards, health cards, and food coupon programs through their association with the DEPSOS-supported open houses. The majority of those registered, however, only receive scholarship funds.

Privately run local NGO open houses do not have access to health or ID cards or nutrition programs, but there are plans to eventually include them. Some NGOs said they had been told they would receive them over six months ago, but are still waiting. There was some indication that street children who were involved with the privately run open houses had conflicts with those who had been asked to come to the DEPSOS-supported open houses. Reportedly, because the DEPSOS open houses were initially having trouble finding enough kids to come to their centers, some of the children had been encouraged to leave the private open houses to join the GOI centers.

United Nations Development Project Trust Fund: UNDP also has established a trust fund through their Community Recovery Program for local NGOs who work directly with street children. By the end of 1998, the fund had dispersed $362,600 to 110 local NGOs, some of which worked directly with street children. These NGOs included: Griya Asih for an income-generation project for 40 children; Anak Alam Malang for support of 93 boys and 58 girls to stay in school; and Pendidkian Hasan Ahmud for a job creation and income-generation project for 27 girls and 27 boys at an orphanage. Two more NGOs, Lembaga Studi Lingkungan and Pusat

Kajian & Perlindungan Anak (PKPA), will receive assistance from the fund in 1999 for economic recovery and income generation assistance (IGA).

Specific Responses of the Asian Development Bank and the Bureau for Social Welfare, Health and Nutrition

The Asian Development Bank does not usually support programs that focus on street children, but in response to the economic crisis it included a small component in its Social Protection Sector Development Program (SPSDP) last year ($2.2 million plus $.5 million for a survey of street children). Additionally, it expanded its involvement this year through the Health and Nutrition Sector Development Program (HNSDP) ($27.3 million). ADB is working directly with BAPPENAS to administer the scholarship program.

The Asian Development Bank does not attempt to ensure policy reform in terms of free and accessible education for all. Rather, it focuses on maintaining education at the pre-crisis levels because, it believes, any more would be too difficult for the GOI to implement. It does advocate a reduction of registration fees, elimination of compulsory uniform requirements (and central procurement of them), and the elimination of examination fees.

The primary reason for the creation of a street children component was ADB's concern over child labor issues. Specifically, ADB felt that the opportunity costs were much higher for children who stayed in school, which would lead to more and more children dropping out to help their families in crisis by working on the streets. Since the magnitude of the street children issue was not clear, however, ADB began by funding a mapping survey on street children, which Irwanto is completing from Atma Jaya Catholic University.

Scholarship Funds: The GOI, with national budget funds, ADB funds, and other SSN funds, provides educational scholarships for primary and junior secondary school students who have been identified as at risk of dropping out of school. So far, approximately 6,000,000 scholarships are being or have been awarded. Funds totaling $2.2 million went to street children specifically during the first phase of the ADB loan, and another $27.3 million will be made available during this next phase in 1999.

Many NGOs, corporations, and individuals are also providing similar scholarship funds. For example, the Japanese government is providing another $3 million for scholarships in 1999. Scholarships for one-third of all street children are reportedly available with the combined funding. BAPPENAS says that with the 1999 ADB loan, virtually all street children (around 50,000) should technically be able to receive scholarships.

More specifically, through the first phase of the ADB loan (SPSDP), 480,000 primary and junior secondary scholarships were provided to low-income families for children at risk of dropping out of school, including 8,600 for primary and junior secondary scholarships for children already on the streets. The scholarships for kids already on the streets were directly linked to participation in

the DEPSOS-sponsored/UNDP-modeled open houses. A total of 7,500 vocational training scholarships were also provided to those street children associated with the open houses for whom mainstream education was not feasible, as well as 600 senior secondary school scholarships for older street children at the open houses.

Although the primary aim of the new 1999 ADB loan (HNSDP) will be to focus on health and nutrition, the scholarship component will also be expanded specifically for street children. In Jakarta, DEPSOS will work with 61 NGOs. In other cities, it will work with five or six organizations. Assistance will be offered in the form of aid packages. Each NGO will be offered a maximum of three packages. Each package will be worth around 43 million rupiah (US $5,250) per year and will be able to accommodate services for 40 street children. The activities the NGOs must complete for the street children with the aid packages include open houses, educational scholarships, vocational training for those not going to school, SEAD follow-up capital, outreach, counseling, monitoring, health referral, and nutrition.

Block Grants for Quality Education: The GOI, with ADB funds, also issues block grants directly to schools. By doing so, it is hoped the GOI can ensure resources will continue to be available for providing education of an acceptable quality. The block grants will allow schools to purchase necessary teaching supplies and instructional materials. The block grants are formulated to provide a greater share of the funds to disadvantaged schools.

Health Assistance: ADB will have a new focus to its new 1999 loan program (HNDSP). The specific objectives of the HNSDP will be to protect access of vulnerable groups to essential health, nutrition, and family planning services; to maintain the quality of services provided to the poor; and to initiate feasible policy reforms related to sustainable health and nutrition service delivery. In particular, the HNSDP is comprised of two parts. First, a policy reform program, called the Health and Nutrition program, to support nationwide policy reforms designed to safeguard access of the poor to basic health services and to strengthen management through decentralization. Second, an investment program called the Health and Nutrition project, to provide funds for maintaining access and quality health services for the poor.

For all HNSDP programs, more than $479 million will be allocated, with $93 million designated to capacity building and implementation and $359 million for maternal and child health and nutrition project activities. Within these amounts, $27.3 million will go to street children programs. Of the $27.3 million in funding available for street children, $18.2 million will be from an ADB loan and $9.1 million will be from the government's contribution. Except where it relates to street children, the HNSDP will not focus on education. Where it does address street children issues, however, the HNSDP will include an expansion from the 7 cities that the SPSDP loan focused on, to 12 cities. Implementation time will be two years, completion is expected to occur by March 2001.[48]

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[48] ADB, Report and Recommendations…for the Health and Nutrition Sector Development Program (1999).

Although GOI programs did not deal with the issue of health in the past as it related to street children specifically, some of their open houses offered general health services as a component. However, funding for such services was often limited. ADB reports open house administrations complained they needed more help in this area, especially for extra health care services, like medical testing. ADB hopes that the 1999 HNDSP will address some of these issues. Only two ADB-funded open houses in Jakarta had programs that used the health card system established by the government through the SSN program.

Nutrition Assistance: The GOI developed a food coupon program with funding from the first phase of the ADB loan program (SPSDP) for children associated with the DEPSOS-supported open houses. In this supplementary food program, 8,600 children reportedly received food coupons for one meal per day (three months at a time). The children then use the coupons when they go to the local food vendors, instead of paying cash. The vendors are reimbursed for the coupons they collect each day by the open houses. This system is reported to be working well so far, not only administratively, but also for the vendors and the children. During the DCOF team's visit to the open house, the system appeared to have been modified, whereby the group leader was to go to the market, purchase the meal, and bring it back to the open house for the street children.

Responses by UNICEF, USAID, and the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights

UNICEF, in cooperation with USAID Democracy and Governance funds, has established a Children's Rights Protection Body on the national and some provincial levels. This entity, the Child Protection Body, known by its Indonesian acronym LPA, concentrates on children in need of special protection, not as a direct service organization, but rather as an advocacy, coordination, and facilitation organization. Originally initiated by the GOI, the LPA was eventually taken over by local NGOs, child welfare experts, researchers, and concerned advocates who currently run the organization in a collaborative effort.

In particular, the LPA endeavors to strengthen government institutions, specifically by establishing provincial institutions to address child protection issues; provides outreach regarding domestic violence and abuse (through collaboration with local NGOs); and monitors children's complaints through an emergency hotline. The LPA also serves as a national clearinghouse for documents on child rights, promotes awareness of the issue, acts as a representative within the justice system on behalf of children, and advocates for child protection laws and policies within the GOI.
PACT's earlier program, also funded by USAID, established many street children projects and organizations. They played an important role in raising the issue of street children and helped it become recognized by the Government of Indonesia.

Reproductive Health Interventions Supported by USAID: USAID's programs through the Office of Population, Health and Nutrition (PHN) deal with HIV/AIDS and other STDs, but do

not target street children per se. However, many of the USAID-funded organizations have street children as a component of their HIV/AIDS and reproductive health programs. One of these programs is the HAPP project in cooperation with PACT.

Responses by the International Labor Organization

Although child labor issues are being addressed by the International Labor Organization (ILO) through its International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), it is not doing much specifically with street children. The ILO feels there is already enough money and enough organizations approaching the situation. However, its current focus overall has been on hazardous work situations of children, of which street children are directly included, especially in the area of urban street hawking and the sex trade, including prostitution and pornography. These child labor practices are deemed particularly damaging or intolerable by the ILO and are thus part of its recent efforts to develop an international legal instrument to end the exploitation of child labor (see ILO Report, Child Labour: Targeting the Intolerable, 1999).

The ILO receives funding from the U.S. Government to specifically deal with the street children issue in Indonesia. It works with local and foreign NGOs, sector ministries, media, and employers. It has also participated in UNICEF's work on the LPA. Problems that the ILO encountered when cooperating with local NGOs have been their capacity for expansion, their credibility, and the fact that they mainly operate in urban centers, although the needs are also great elsewhere.

The ILO works with the GOI to regulate child labor; the informal sector, where street children primarily work, has become more difficult to enforce since the crisis. It focuses primarily on this enforcement approach, but there is also a rehabilitation emphasis, as often the elimination of a particular type of work does not always prevent the child from returning to it or from moving into another hazardous type of work. With this rehabilitation focus in mind, the ILO also provided 3,000 educational scholarships for at-risk children in six provinces.

The ILO also works in collaboration with the Japanese Embassy to fund the Bantar Gebang dumpsite in Bekasi–the Australian Overseas Development Agency (AusAID) and the Canadian International Development Assistance (CIDA)–are also funding local NGOs who work here). At this site, the ILO provides school- and NGO-staff support through a nonformal education program that helps keep children away from working in the extremely hazardous dumpsite.

NGO Responses

Griya Asih: Griya Asih generally targets street children (mostly boys) who are abused and neglected, and who are involved in socially unacceptable behaviors to survive on the streets. The stated mission of Griya Asih is to advocate for the rights of street children and assist them in receiving proper support and love. The end goal is to ensure that children can build normal lives

for themselves, become aware of their status and rights, and eventually give something positive back to society.

Griya Asih focuses on four types of interventions:

1. Extra educational assistance and training in living skills for kids who are still in school, but work occasionally on the streets.
2. A boarding house for street boys who spend most of their time on the streets working. These kids receive vocational training, rather than formal schooling. The goal at the boarding house is to gradually eliminate their time on the streets.
3. Assistance for kids to independently support themselves through work or small business assistance (one group of street boys from Griya Asih opened a small meatball shop with the NGO's assistance).
4. A recently developed, very small open house for street girls was opened. Currently, 10 girls live off and on at the home. They must be encouraged to come to the Open house, rather than coming voluntarily. The girls are mostly found near Jakarta's central monument where the prostitutes hang out. The girls receive training in sewing, handicrafts, and food production; some will receive school scholarships from individual donors this year.

Funding for the foundation comes mostly through donations from individuals, and from the Catholic Church. In fact, Griya Asih's approach emphasizes Catholic teachings quite predominantly. It reported that it has not had significant problems meeting its needs eventhough it does not have a steady source of funding. It has a very direct intervention approach, and limited interaction with the GOI or outside donor sources.

Gema Mandiri Bangsa (Street Education Program): This NGO provides an alternative education approach for kids (primarily boys) already working on the streets. Using street educators, some of whom are former street children themselves, Gema Mandiri Bangsa provides regular education on the street corners where kids work everyday for one or two hours. It uses street training modules, which were developed specifically for street children by UNICEF and Bahtera (using USAID and other donor funds). The modules include training in such practical areas as socialization, skills training, child rights, sex education, and basic education.

The DCOF team interviewed some of the street children attending a street education session. They stated the contents of the UNICEF and Bahtera books were too easy and they need more challenging material with different levels (currently there is only one level for each subject).

Dian Mitra: Based near the railroad station where many street children congregate for work, Dian Mitra, a Muslim NGO, provides the local slum community of 800 families with education and health care assistance. It offers a kindergarten and provides 275 scholarships for primary and junior secondary students. It also offers extra education assistance to 295 students (not including the kindergarten), primarily through comprehensive basic education equivalency training programs developed according to national curriculum standards (called Packet A and Packet B provisions). These 295 students are either already dropouts or at risk of becoming dropouts. Dian

Mitra also provides assistance to 39 orphans in the area.

Dian Mitra also offers skill development training in cooking, sewing, and printing. Often, it secures contracts with foreign organizations or government representatives for handicraft production. It provides health education classes, nutrition programs, services for the disabled and elderly, and helps to distribute welfare packages and rice through the Social Safety Net program. Dian Mitra generally serves as a community center with a religious emphasis.

The Child Welfare Foundation and the Setia Kawan II Open House: One local NGO generally regarded as one of the best was the Child Welfare Foundation (YKAI). YKAI has the reputation for being "high level" and having good GOI connections (established by the wives of high-level government officials), for being stable, and for completing good work.[49]

YKAI's general approach to street children is in keeping with the overall intentions of the GOI: to return street children to their families and to keep them in school. Additionally, YKAI's goals include the provision of vocational training (with SEAD capital for IGA afterwards), maintaining a family focus with IGA for parents, and parenting training and counseling.

YKAI's primary intervention point for street children has been through the DEPSOS-supported, UNDP-funded open house model, called Setia Kawan II by YKAI. Children at the open house, mostly boys, vary in ages from 7 to 19. Many have families living in or near Jakarta (often on the streets themselves). As described earlier, the open house offers children access to ID and health cards. Additionally, they are provided access to educational scholarships (a total of 1,071 as of April 1999) and vocational training (a total of 536 as of April 1999) for those not going to school, with SEAD follow-up capital. Vocational training at the open house includes silk screening, paper recycling, driving, and mechanics. YKAI also provides outreach, counseling, monitoring, health referrals (to a nearby public health center), and is part of the food supplement program (lunch coupons for 200 kids).

Planned Parenthood Association in Indonesia: One of the largest and oldest NGOs in Indonesia, Planned Parenthood Association (IPPA), has 24 chapters at the provincial level and 150 branches at the district level across Indonesia. IPPA works by establishing partnerships with various institutions in government, NGOs, local communities, and private companies. The goals of the program focus on improving knowledge and understanding of reproductive health, improving and maintaining participation in family planning, strengthening gender equality regarding reproductive health, and strengthening organizational capacity at all levels by developing professionalism and expanding access to funding resources and other support systems.

[49] Irwanto, DCOF Team meeting, (5/6/99).

IPPA's street children program is new; technically, it has not yet started. To begin addressing the street children issue, IPPA collaborated with UNICEF to hold a round table discussion (RTD) that involved 25 NGOs and GOs. The purpose of the RTD was to identify problems of street children, develop common approaches, determine potential solutions, and establish a network and coordination of efforts. The results thus far have been relatively uneventful: they have unanimously agreed to continue the RTD, to set up a network for funding cooperation, and to develop program implementation strategies–although action in these areas has yet to occur.

IPPA has also been involved in two newly established pilot projects targeted at a broader range of beneficiaries that include outreach for street children. In the first pilot, IPPA collaborates with UNICEF (and also with the British Council and the British Women's Association) in Central Java. The second pilot targets street children through the PACT-coordinated HAPP project (with USAID Democracy and Governance [DG] funding) in East Java.

In the future, IPPA wants to develop an open house approach to target street kids, although it will not use the UNDP/DEPSOS model for their centers, preferring instead to develop its own models. IPPA will use a family empowerment approach in these efforts (i.e., family reunification), but does not plan to target the hard core street children because "they are too difficult to work with." IPPA will use their already solid foundation in 62 clinics throughout the country, some of which already have outreach programs, in their new street children programs. It is short of funding, however, to fully develop this program.

World Vision International: World Vision International is planning soon to implement a program for street children in Jakarta. It would like to use the open house model and tie it into other urban programs for the poor currently in operation.

Problems and Gaps in Responses

The Social Safety Net and Scholarships

Some NGOs and major donors report that there is "bad press" related to the Social Safety Net funds and scholarships. This has been the case, in part, because some facilitators misused funds. But it has also been a result of the fund transferring methods via the Post Office Banks, which do not always exist. This requires the GOI to provide funds directly to the schools. It is not clear if the funds get to beneficiaries at all when they go through the schools.

The scholarship program also has the potential to miss many needy recipients. As BAPPENAS explained, although 50 percent of the scholarships were designated for girls, it would be difficult to distribute to that great a percentage because not that many street girls were involved in the open houses. In addition, only 12 cities are covered by the ADB scholarship program, which leaves large gaps in coverage. Furthermore, many NGOs complain that the scholarships are not made available to children who are not associated with the DEPSOS-supported open houses, even though the privately funded open houses and boarding schools reach a significant number of street children.

Given the large amount of money going to scholarships, many have wondered why the focus has not been placed more on comprehensive policies. They think comprehensive policies would reform the system so that scholarships were not needed at all. The GOI, however, views scholarships as incentives for children to go to school.

Coordination and Collaboration

The goal for the GOI is the reintegration of street children with their families and communities. This has also been the expressed goal of organizations like UNICEF, UNDP, ADB, and some local NGOs with whom they collaborate. This may be feasible for many street children, especially newcomers who are on the streets due to poverty. It may not be feasible for other types of street children, especially hard core groups.

Many local NGOs, however, have more of a tendency to advocate for developing the capacity of children to live safely on the streets and to focus their efforts on direct work with children, rather than on policy development or systemic interventions. Some of those interviewed felt that such differences in intervention approaches was one of the reasons for the lack of continuous, fluid solutions related to street children. Nevertheless, NGOs need to collaborate more, not only among themselves, but also with the GOI, the police, and others.

Limited Local NGO Capacity

Many donors have tried to strengthen local NGOs. Unfortunately, there is a capacity problem among them (for example, the ILO had to return $400,000 to Geneva after it determined that they could not find enough qualified NGOs to distribute the funds to). At the same time, more and more demands are placed on local NGOs. Many funding agencies feel that they do not have appropriate capacities in the area of program design, management and evaluation, and (based on interviews completed by the DCOF team) do not seem interested in this area of service delivery. More conceptual work is needed, because many funding agencies do not understand the process of developing a program, and generally prefer to focus on direct interventions.

NGOs also have a high turnover. Sometimes training has to be repeated. One way to help the situation would be for UNICEF and other funding agencies to develop collaborative efforts on training, etc.

Emphasis on Direct Service

Many NGOs focus work on awareness raising, research, and services, but not on prevention, rehabilitation, counseling, and changing behaviors. Such direct interventions tend to represent more of a temporary approach to the street children problem, rather than a comprehensive, preventative effort. Because the local NGOs do not generally like to work with the GOI, perhaps due to intimidation, this comprehensive approach toward prevention tends to be absent in their efforts. Collaborative efforts by the GOI also need strengthening, since NGOs have significant strengths in direct work with street children.

Lack of Assistance for Girls

There is a problem with child prostitution, but it is difficult to get the GOI to work on this. Street children involved with prostitution, therefore, have to depend on NGOs and universities. Because girl street children tend to be invisible, in that they are assumed to be involved in the sex trade and therefore automatically not placed in the "street children" category, the numbers and the extent of the problem related to girls on the streets is unclear. There is particular concern over the issue of street girls and their reproductive health.

Lack of Definitions and Information on Street Children

Although NGOs and the GOI have come closer to clarifying definitions, clear understanding as to what constitutes a street child, and agreement on the most appropriate interventions, remain confused. This has been especially difficult to resolve given the current onslaught of newcomers to the streets as a result of the crisis.

There is a current lack of comprehensive, quantitative information on the magnitude of the street children problem. Although many smaller studies have been completed in the past, they tend to be qualitative, anecdotal in character, and very limited in scope. Furthermore, most of these studies were completed prior to the economic crisis. The size and complexity of Indonesia, as well as the transitory nature of street children in general, adds to the difficulty in obtaining accurate data. Atma Jaya University is currently undertaking an extensive survey to address these issues.

Sustainability

It is unclear whether or not the interventions employed by most local NGOs and the GOI are replicable and/or sustainable. Are the success stories from direct interventions at the street level replicable? Given the growing numbers of at-risk children, how many families can really be reached with the individual approaches currently being used by NGOs? Are such approaches realistic given the transitory nature of families in crisis and the relatively limited number of social workers available to work individually with families and children? On the other hand, can the GOI really sustain program efforts that do not endeavor to improve policy (i.e., better access to education or health care) at the same time that they attempt to stem the flow through temporary approaches like scholarships? Without better coordination between the GOI and local NGOs, are any of the approaches being used truly effective?

Private Agencies Collaborating Together

Private Agencies Collaborating Together (PACT) has a long history of designing and implementing programs targeting street children. In particular, PACT developed the RESCUE I and II projects, (Reaching Street Children in Urban Environments) in Indonesia based on its models from Thailand. The USAID-funded project in Indonesia, which ran from September 1992 to June 1997, assisted approximately 1,500 street children. In addition to supporting street-based, direct intervention programs, the RESCUE projects also supported capacity-building efforts for local NGOs to assist street children, completed research to explore the magnitude of the problem and needs of children, and raised awareness of the plight of street children. PACT is also currently implementing a USAID HIV/AIDS project (via the Office of Population, Health and Nutrition) called HAPP, with 75 local NGOs.

In an 1997 external evaluation, the project's main activities were viewed positively by NGOs, DCOF, and street children.[50] The initiatives developed by PACT in the past are still being used as models for local NGOs and its approaches are often duplicated. However, PACT has not been without its fair share of troubles more recently.

Most significant among these is the issue regarding PACT's current organizational capacity to restart the RESCUE project. Of particular concern has been the number of rapid country representative turnovers in Indonesia (four in four years). The current representative, Greg Rooney, is fairly new (six months), and although he plans on staying for a long time, speaks Bahasa, and has lived and worked extensively in Indonesia, he is not as familiar with the specifics of the street child problem. The PACT proposal was written out-of-country and Rooney was not as directly involved in its development as a country representative would typically be.

PACT's previous street children activities were implemented prior to the main thrust of the economic crisis. The concept paper submitted by PACT does not take into consideration much of what has happened and is happening with regards to street children. A close familiarity with the current problem would be necessary to develop appropriate program interventions.

Adding to the concern was PACT's capacity in terms of qualified, experienced local staff. Currently, very few (if any) experienced staff familiar with the previous RESCUE project remain at PACT. When the previous RESCUE project was completed, and PACT began focusing more directly on health and democracy issues, the staff was left without employment. Even more importantly to the staff was their concern that the beneficiaries still required assistance.

In response, PACT developed a new strategy: it helped the employees establish their own local NGO, called PACTA, to continue to address the needs of street children. PACTA is directly affiliated with PACT (although it is a completely separate NGO) in that it often serves as the

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[50] Horvath and Savino, Reaching Street Children in an Urban Environment: A Review of the RESCUE II Program in Indonesia for the DCOF, (1997), p. i.

implementing agency for the direct interventions, while PACT acts as the program manager. PACT was described as the door to foreign issues, while PACTA is the door to local issues. Current PACTA staff explained that they have remained closely linked to PACT primarily because major donors (like ADB) would not directly fund local NGOs.[51] One DCOF team concern was that key former PACT employees now hold primary management positions at PACTA. It is unclear, then, what would happen to PACTA as an organization if PACT hired back these key staff.

Although PACT is aware that it is not up to date on the issues pertaining to street children, it claims that to have a strong institutional background in the area and many of the former staff people (i.e., PACTA staff) are available still. Indeed, PACT's stated expertise has been in capacity building, organizational development, information sharing, and networking. However, it did not demonstrate an understanding of the current efforts being made on behalf of street children by local NGOs or the GOI, either during the DCOF team meetings or in the concept paper. Such an understanding would indicate that, even if it did not have a full grasp of the current situation with street children, it knew what other organizations were involved with street children and thus could avoid duplication of services.

Finally, in addition to the concerns of the DCOF team, there were concerns raised by USAID Mission personnel who had previously worked with PACT on the RESCUE projects. They explained that there had been some costly financial mistakes made by PACT involving USAID funds. The mission felt that PACT's problems concerning expatriate staff turnover rates exacerbated the situation in that no one maintained regular contact with the mission or kept them informed of their efforts.

The Bentar Geban Garbage Dumpsite

The Bantar Gebang's major dumpsite is located in Kecamantan Bantar Gebang, Bekasi. This site is located about 25 km east of Jakarta. The site has been operating as a final dumpsite for about 18 years–all kinds of waste material from metropolitan Jakarta are dumped. Each day an average of 28,000 cubic meters of wet and dry waste are transported to this site by hundreds of garbage trucks.

The dumpsite occupies 123 hectares of land and operates under the management of Dinas Kebersihan DKI Jakarta (Jakarta's sanitation department). Scavengers see the site as profitable since it contains all kinds of waste that can be recycled for various uses. A formal report made by the local NGO indicates that there were about 2,325 scavengers in 1993, most of them males, operating each day from early morning until late afternoon. In 1996, the number was estimated to be around 3,400; today it is estimated to be around 4,000. In 1996, approximately 600 of the scavengers (18 percent) were children below 16 years of age, of whom most (67 percent) were

[51] Sari, Yustina. DCOF Team meeting, (5/8/99).

actively scavenging at the dumpsite. (PACT, in its concept paper, says there are 7,000 scavengers; among them 2,000 to 3,000 children who may or may not be associated with families). The remaining children often stay at home to help their parents sort and clean the collection.

There are about 200 children attending the informal school. The scavengers' home sites are located in two villages (Cikiwul and Ciketing Udik). These are very close to the dumpsite.

Scavengers live and work in the dumpsite in six major groups. Each group has an average of 200 to 300 households. These six groups have their own leaders who function as the bosses or collectors to whom the group members sell their collection. Traditionally, they are grouped on the basis of their origins. Most are migrants from Indramayu and Ciberon (West Java), Semarang and Tegal (Central Java), Surabayba (West Java), Madura (off the coast of East Java), and Ujung Pandang. The area of residences is impoverished and filthy.

The school (built through Japanese assistance, with plans for another one) functions on an informal basis with the students being taught by tutors. PACT wants to use the dumpsite as a demonstration model site for their proposed project because it most closely resembles life on the street. In their latest program description, PACT states that they wish to "expand the current three models of services for street children to include innovative approaches such as a holistic, family-centered approach to be piloted in a dumpsite," such as Bentar Gerbang. The DCOF team assessed this differently. It did not see a strong connection between much-needed interventions for children working and living in the dumpsite and street children.

APPENDICES

Scope of Work

USAID/DCOF appointed a two-person team consisting of Pamella Klein Odhner and Tom Yates to conduct an assessment of the situation of ?Street Children? in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia from May 2 to May 18, 1999. Their Scope of Work consisted of the following:

- How does the potential project fit within the SO framework of the Mission?
- After reviewing the PACT proposal, does it meet the current situation where more children are on the street? Does it help children return or remain with their families when this is a reasonable option?
- What's the best impact we could hope for and how will it be measured?
- What are the capabilities and capacity of local NGOs?
- Is an umbrella strategy to fund and strengthen local NGOs an approach?
- How has PACT's previously DCOF-supported work in Indonesia fared? Do those NGO's still exist?
- Does the establishment of a pilot project in Bentar Geban Garbage Dump make sense?
- Are the methodologies adequate for dissemination and duplication?
- Are any other PVO's better suited to work with this target group? Are or any complementary to PACT? If so, how might we work with them as well?
- Are there other targets and needs of displaced children besides "street children's" needs? For example, in conflict areas- E. Timor, West Kalimantan, Ambon, and other urban areas besides Jakarta and Java urban centers?
- What other "players" are trying to tackle the problems? How can additional resources be brought to bear?

Specific Activities:

- Examine available research and analysis -- Universities, World Bank, ADB, ICRC, UN, NGOs, and Government of Indonesia.
- Form list of recommendations for DCOF future actions.
- Prepare a written report summarizing evaluation and recommendations including executive summary, appendices that contain the name and contact information for all those interviewed.

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